

want of an Anti-Slavery Society when there is no slavery in the country? An Anti-Slavery Society when the slave system is annihilated—when, by the law of the land, not a human being is permitted to lay his hand too heavily upon the shoulder of his brother man? The thing is an absurdity. We shall then have done the work of abolitionism, *per se*. True, there will be other work to be done; but we shall then mingle with the great mass of the people, who have accepted abolition, and unite with them in carrying forward the struggle for equal political privileges.

But anti-slavery, as such, dies the moment slavery dies in our country—and dies legitimately and honorably. (Applause.) It is a vain assumption, now, for any abolitionist to assume the great importance of this Society in the present altered state of things. We have everywhere the mass of the people with us, applauding everything that can be said against the continuance of slavery. The ablest public men are making radical and eloquent speeches in favor of immediate and universal emancipation, and uttering the strongest condemnation of the hated system we have opposed so long. "Old things have passed away, and, behold, all things are become new." I recognize the fact, with devout gratitude to God. I will not cast imputations upon the motives of any man, or any body of men, for this sudden change, nor taunt them with being bayonneted up to it by abolitionists. I have no such ineptness to make. I thank God that they are now "clothed, and sitting in their right minds"; and that is all I care to know. I give them my heart and my hand—(applause)—and, instead of prognosticating only evil, and filling the air with doubts and apprehensions of danger in the future, I choose rather to believe that the people have passed the Rubicon, that they have burned the bridge behind them, that they have drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, and never mean to make any further compromise with slavery, but do mean to annihilate it. To say that this Government is disposed to put Union first and the black man afterwards, is to assert what is not true. The Government does not say so. The Government affirms, before the civilized world, that it puts liberty with Union—the liberty of the black man alongside of the Union, or else no Union. (Applause.) What is gained by casting wrong imputations? What is the use of prophesying evil, only evil, and that continually? Is that the way to encourage the people to go forward? If their faces are simply turned toward Zion, let us thank God that they are so turned, even if they have not taken a step toward Zion. Their faces are in the right direction; and God speed them onward until they reach Zion, and sing its songs of praise! (Loud applause.) Surely, God has given to us, during the past two years, such overwhelming evidences of the triumph progress of our cause, and events have followed one another so rapidly, that we really have not begun to appreciate them. A single one of them, a few years ago, would have made us hold jubilee meetings all over the land. Our national district, where the slave trade had its headquarters; where a haughty slave oligarchy held supreme sway; where a Massachusetts Senator could not testify against the barbarism of slavery without being smitten down by the hand of the bloody-minded slaveholder; now cleansed, purified, redeemed, and freed from schools, free thought and free speech dominant! Why, if we had nothing but that great change to contemplate, it would be worth holding congratulatory meetings from one end of the country to the other! And then the repeal of the accursed Fugitive Slave Law—why, it alone signs the death-warrant of slavery! For we have not always said, no, the slaves could not be hunted for free soil, no, the slave State could long exist, and hence the whole slave system would perish speedily? Now there is not a slave held in the land who is not permitted by the United States Government to take his liberty where and when he will, and no man may dare pursue him, or lay claim to any property in him. (Applause.) Where everything is so encouraging, beyond our highest expectations, I do not understand why there should be so much distrust in regard to the future. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." One would think, from what we have heard here to-day, that there has been no gain for liberty; nevertheless, there has been an immense gain, and we are advancing towards perfect justice every hour. Slavery goes down by the righteous judgment of God; and it is not in the power of men or devils to save it from extinction. With it will soon pass away those proscription laws and usages against the free people of color to which it has given birth. Let us, then, cheer on the vast multitude whose hearts are beginning to palpitate with our own. Let us rejoice that they have entirely changed, in spirit and feeling, towards us and the cause of the oppressed; and not say or insinuate that they will betray freedom for Union the earliest moment they can. Let us be just, magnanimous, hopeful, co-operative, and thus stimulate them to complete the work so well begun. That is the philosophy upon which I act. (Applause.)

GEORGE T. DOWNING. I would like to ask Mr. Garrison how he reconciles his position with the third article of the Constitution of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and the Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society, adopted in Philadelphia? The third article of the Constitution is as follows: "The objects of this Society shall be to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color; to improve and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites."

The Declaration of Sentiments says: "We further believe and affirm, that all persons of color who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; that the path of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion."

MR. GARRISON. Nothing is more easily answered than this inquiry. We had two classes in view, of course, when we organized the Society. First, the entire slave population, for whose liberation we banded ourselves together. Next, half a million free people of color, laboring under many and grievous disabilities; and we pledged ourselves to seek their relief, improvement and elevation. But I never supposed that, after the abolition of slavery, we should attempt to perpetuate our Anti-Slavery organizations. For one, I shall not be guilty of any such folly. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF HENRY C. WRIGHT.

If the question before this Society were, "Shall the right of suffrage be extended at once to the freedmen?" I do not believe there is a solitary individual in the Society who would raise his voice against it. I challenge any man in the Society, or out of it, to quote a solitary word uttered by the *Liberator* or *Anti-Slavery Standard*, or any member of this Society, or of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to show that he would make a distinction in the matter of suffrage, on the ground of color. No such word has ever been uttered; and I challenge any one to prove the contrary. In all our meetings, in all our papers, that have been a cardinal point, whenever it came up; and were the question to be put to the Society to-night, I do not believe there would be a dissenting voice. But that is not the question before us now.

Then, again, as to the equal right of the colored man to work for whom and for what he pleases, just like the white man—I do not believe there is a solitary member of the Society who would ever did oppose it; and yet from the tenor of the remarks that I have heard, I should suppose that the Society itself was opposed to that idea.

Then, again, as to the equal right of the colored man to education. I never have heard the sentiment uttered in any anti-slavery meeting, or in any anti-slavery paper, that the colored man should not have an equal right to education in all its branches. Then, again, as to the Amendment of the Constitu-

tion forbidding all State legislation based on distinctions of color, I do not believe there is any one in the Society who would oppose it for one moment. We all go for such an amendment; I never heard anything to the contrary.

What, then, is the difficulty? What is the fault to be found with the Society on those matters? The question before the meeting, as I have understood it from the remarks that have been made this afternoon and evening, is the condition on which the rebel States shall be re-admitted into the Union—Louisiana, for instance. I put this question to all the members of this Society, and I put it to the nation, Shall the United States Government be called upon to admit no rebel State into the Union until it shall have abolished all legislation based on distinctions of color? That is the great question before us. Shall we refuse to receive these States into the Union until they shall have adopted a rule that color shall make no difference at the ballot box, or in labor, or in education? There is not a man among us, Mr. Chairman, who does not believe that all laws and customs ought to be abolished that make any distinction of color as a basis of political, social or religious action; but the question is, Shall we shut out the rebel States until they come up to that point, when two thirds of the States now in the Union actually make color the basis of exclusion from political rights? (Voices—"Yes.") Shall Pennsylvania demand of the rebel States that they admit the colored man to the ballot-box, when she excludes him herself? I say, let Pennsylvania pull the beam out of her own eyes before she undertakes to claim that the other States shall pull the beam out of theirs. I say, let this nation heal itself. Let the Free States go to work and abolish all distinctions of color in legislation, in schools, in social customs—everywhere. It seems to me perfectly monstrous for anybody to stand up and demand that no State shall be re-admitted into the Union unless it extends the right of suffrage equally to all its citizens, saying, at the same time, not a single word about the existence of the same inequality in its own State. I would say, let every man and every woman stand on an absolute equality with regard to suffrage, as I believe they have a perfect right to do, and with regard to education and labor; and I believe throughout the country, would say the same. But the question is, Shall the United States Government be called upon by us to go on with the war and keep the rebel States under military rule until they can be re-constructed under a constitutional provision prohibiting legislation based on distinctions of color? Mr. Chairman, I say, NO! I would like to see the Union re-constructed on the abolition and everlasting prohibition of slavery. And what do I mean by slavery? From the remarks that have been made here to-day, and from remarks which I have heard in other places in our anti-slavery meetings, it seems to me that some of our friends hold out the idea that the man who has not the right to vote is a slave. We have been careful for the last thirty-five years—and I speak from my personal knowledge—in all our publications, and in all our addresses, to draw a distinction between slavery and other forms of oppression. When the friends of slavery in this country and in Europe have taunted us with conniving at slavery in England, the laboring class in England being slaves, we have said, "There is no such thing as a slave in England. There are people who are denied the right of suffrage, oppressed in their labor, and in various ways; but no slave." A slave is a man turned into a chattel, and that and alone is what we have been fighting against all our lifetime as abolitionists. We have labored for the redemption of the slave from his condition of chattelhood, where he has been left to feel after God and immortality among beasts and creeping things, and to place him on the platform of humanity; and I maintain for one, that so far as that is concerned, the labor of this Society draws to a close. When the Constitutional Amendment shall have been adopted, forever prohibiting chattel slavery within the limits of the United States, chattel slavery is abolished so far as the Government can do the work, and then we must go to work to secure to the freedman his rights in all other departments. I have no objection to having the matter discussed now. Let us have a resolution here declaring the equal rights of the colored man in regard to labor, education and suffrage, with the white man. There is not a person in this whole Society who would not vote for such a resolution—not one. Why, then, imply that there is such an one?

We approach, in my opinion, the consummation of our work—the abolition of chattel slavery—the lifting up of human chattels, and placing them in the position of men and women, to be dealt with as men and women, and not as beasts and things. We have a right to demand that the rebel States shall not be permitted to come back into the Union while they retain the cause of all our trouble. And why? Because the act of rebellion was an act of emancipation to every slave in the rebel States. The rebels themselves enacted the emancipation of every slave in the rebel States when they went out of the Union.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.
Mr. Chairman—Allow me one word, which I utter with the greater pleasure and frankness, because my friend, Mr. Garrison, has left the Hall, that there is nothing more unpleasant to me than any allusion to him and myself as antagonists. Whatever may have been the immediate cause of my anti-slavery life and action, he is, in so true and full a sense, the creator of the Anti-Slavery movement, that I may well say I have never uttered an anti-slavery word which I did not owe to his inspiration; I have never done an anti-slavery act of which the primary merit was not his. More than that: in my experience of nearly thirty years, I have never met the anti-slavery man or woman who had struck any effectual blow at the slave system in this country, whose action was not born out of the heart and conscience of Wm. Lloyd Garrison. (Loud applause.) I do not forget the half-dozen anti-slavery sermons which I heard along my history—the quiet scruples of some tender consciences—the passive disapprobation of Friends, their protection of individual fugitives, or the devoted life of London—still, the Anti-Slavery Movement is Garrison's work, and, as agitators, we all owe to him the breath of our nostrils; and I do not see to-day, that in regard to the great principles of the cause, there is any difference between him and myself. In our speeches to-day, we have both wandered, on the one side and the other, from the direct line off to the consideration of motives. But it was in 1833 that Mr. Garrison wrote the words which my friend Downing has read to us, as the Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society—"We believe that all persons of color, who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges and the exercise of the same prerogatives as others." It was his own pen, that same year, which drew the third article of our Constitution, affirming, as my friend read, that we were to "aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, that they may share an equality with the whites of civil and religious privileges." That was from his pen on the 4th day of December, 1833. This very morning, that same hand writes these words—

"Resolved, That Congress should lose no time in submitting to the people an amendment to the Constitution, making the electoral law uniform in all the States, without regard to complexional distinctions."

What can be better Alpha and Omega to the Anti-Slavery Gospel than this Declaration of Sentiments and this resolution offered to us to-day? It is the same great leader—whether he accept the title or not—who drafts both these declarations of sentiment and purpose for the Anti-Slavery cause. Whatever, therefore, may be the conclusion of this debate, I recognize the same leading mind at the head of the anti-slavery struggle. In times past, none but his own modest lips ever dreamed of denying him that title; in time to come, we shall need, find and welcome the same leader.

But I am not criticizing Gen. Banks. He is not the object of this criticism. I criticize Louisiana and his system of oppression; and when you ask me what sort of Louisiana I want, then I answer, I want not only emancipation, but the ballot. My friend, who sits here, (Mr. Foss), says, "Take emancipation

first, and then get the ballot." I have two answers to that. In the first place, when Mr. Lincoln offered emancipation to the black man, did we dissolve this Society? Mr. Chase said that was efficient; Mr. Montgomery Blair—of whom, the latest news from Washington is, that your President is making his machinations cover all Maryland to put that recent into the United States Senate—said, "That Proclamation tree every slave." Many lawyers said the same. If any one objected that, at the best, the Proclamation only freed the present slave; the masses cried, "Well, that practically kills the system." But did we dissolve the Society? No. We said, "No matter what other men think of that parchment, we mean to have the liberty of the black man now living, and that of his children put beyond doubt. We mean to have the system destroyed." Now the nation has taken a stride still further, and says to me, "We will give an actual prohibition of slavery indorsed on the Constitution." I say, "Thank you! that is a gain." But, at the same time, I see a fence between me and the negro; I see him, though covered with this parchment prohibition, ground to powder by the power of State sovereignty; I see Salmon P. Chase walking up to the line of fence that divides him from Louisiana, looking over, and seeing the white man grind the negro to powder, and looking on powerless to protect the victim. I recognize the interlocking of State and Federal Governments, as I explained this morning; so, like an Abolitionist with a client, I demand, not only the record of the judgment, but the execution in the hands of the Sheriff. (Applause.) I demand, not only an Amendment of the Constitution, but the perfect power, according to American ideas, put into the hands of the negro, to defend himself. To an American, this is indispensable, the only effectual assertion and guaranty of the negro's liberty.

Having given thirty years of my manhood to tearing off the shackles, so far as my influence goes, of four millions of slaves, I shall not stand by silently, and let the nation chest me out of a substantial success by the offer of a parchment picture, if I have the power to get something more; and when my friend (Mr. Wright) turns to Illinois, and says, "She don't allow her black man to vote," I reply, More shame to Illinois! she has all her State rights; she has got her fence up, and we cannot pass it. But, thank God! the fence between me and Carolina is down, and it shall never be put up until I do my utmost to secure to every man on her soil the ballot. (Loud applause.) My pathway to Louisiana is over Louisiana. My pathway to Carolina is over the best blood of the North; and in order to open it, we have mortgaged the industry of this generation, and taken so much comfort from the table of every laboring man for fifty years to come; and having now this power at such a cost, I intend, before the war is closed, to have out of Carolina, not the parchment form of justice, but its very substance and self. (Loud applause.)

Then, again, my friend says, "We have got, in four years, the amendment, and thus, in four more, we will get the ballot." That is not the law, either of national or individual life. You know it is a law of our nature, that after every great spasm comes a lull; the system rests in order to gather renewed strength, and saves itself for another effort. So nations, after a struggle for a great life, settle down to the dull routine of common material life. After the Revolution, our fathers devoted themselves to making their bread, building roads, cities, houses, ships. England has shown us the same fact once or twice, France half a dozen times within the last century. So, mark me, friend! whatever peace you make, whatever be the nature and elements of that peace, that, and nothing more, must content you for twenty years, unless civil war breaks out anew; for as for mere agitation, America will set the hand of absolute prohibition on the lips of every man who agitates for freedom for twenty years, if peace is attained. That is the law of national life. What you get by the bargain, you get now, and you will get no more for some length of time, unless Davis, as I indicated to-day, goes over the Rio del Norte with the remainder of his veterans, and watches this nation for the rift of discontent into which he may insert his sword. The Abolitionist is to ask now, or he will find his labor a hundred fold greater in all hours to come of our lives.

I claim, therefore, that it is the duty of the anti-slavery body to stand behind the Republican party. That party is weak in its very numbers, weak in the very auxiliaries it has received. The old guard say this society clearly; the new men do not. What I said to you this morning of the state of mind of Congress, the best men there have said to you again and again, half a dozen Northern and Eastern Senators have told me that the Republican majority may be trusted on all party measures, and while the technical liberty of the negro is in the scale; but beyond that, when his manhood, civil rights and just claims under our laws and institutions are urged or in peril, you could not trust these men or rely on their aid. Take Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, as a specimen. The son of one of the first abolitionists in that Commonwealth, the ablest debater in the Senate, the leader of that body when he goes back there, recognized by many as such. Henry Wilson said to him, when we were discussing the duty of the nation to pay the 54th and 68th colored regiments, (I give the substance, not the words of the debate.) "It is a question of contract, Mr. Fessenden. Gov. Andrew published his proclamation to the black men as far west as the Mississippi, in the columns of a hundred journals, offering them, if they would be mustered in the same pay &c., as the whites. The War Department knew that these hundred journals carried that proclamation every morning over the Northern States, and in some six or twelve weeks, in answer to these calls, Major Stearns mustered his two regiments, and brought them to Readville. Now that is a Government contract. Every man, certainly every lawyer sees that the Federal Government, by well-knowing beforehand the offer of the Agent, our Government was bound by them when they accepted his work—the completed regiments. To keep their promise thus made is one path, to repudiate it, and at the same time refuse the regiments, is the only other. By accepting the men, they accepted the contract." Turning to the Senator, Mr. Wilson said, "Will you fulfill it?" And what do you think was the answer of the petitioner for the State of Maine? "I would like to see Gov. Andrew's written authority!" (Voices—"Shame on him!") In other words, such a remark not only justifies the Government in keeping goods, while it refuses to pay the price which it knew its Agent had for long weeks publicly promised in its name; but such remarks presuppose that the negro in Buffalo or St. Louis, ignorant and a fugitive, poor and friendless, is bound, before answering to the call of Major Stearns, to make his way, at his own expense, to Boston State House, into the Governor's chamber, and to ask him—"Gov. Andrew, I hear you are authorized to enlist blacks—show me your authority!" Now, I venture to say there is not one chance in ten hundred thousand million billion (laughter) that even Senator Fessenden would never have used that shameful evasion in the case of a white Portland regiment asking for its just due. Yet that is the man who has just been returned to the Senate by the State of Maine, to be the leader of that body. Surely, prejudice against color is not wholly dead yet, while men reputable enough to hold public office, yet, while men, without blushing, thus incapable of applying the same ethics to the white man and to the black. Power entrusted to such hands is sure to bring national disgrace.

Now, it is to a party, the average morality of which is represented by such a man, that we are to trust reconstruction. I will cheerfully trust reconstruction to the man who deals with the negro's rights as he does with the white man's, wherever I find him, and I will never trust it to any man except he be of that class, and I do not find that class either at the White House or in the majority of the Senate. Allow me to remind you of one prophetic warning of Mazzini. In one of his

recent letters, he asks—"Why have Italian revolutions failed for half a century?" and answers, "The mistake has been one only too prevalent at the present day,—that of trusting the government of the insurrection to those who had no share in making it." The same thing is true to-day, it seems to me, in the mistake which some Abolitionists make. They are for letting the helm of the anti-slavery cause go out of the hands of Mr. Garrison and the Anti-Slavery Society into those of Republican Abolitionists, who did not create, but were by us created. Glad and ready as I always am to trust our pioneer, I do not join in this confidence he gives to public men, which leads me, I think, to trust them too implicitly. It seems to me that some fatal generosity which Mazzini describes, and will lead to the same defeat that Mazzini and his comrades have met. It is a suicidal policy. We have had enough of it. We stood aside at the beginning of the struggle, and said, "Let not the odium that we have incurred hurt the cause—to avoid it, let other men lead the masses forward to this anti-slavery work." We did that as long as prudence would justify. To-day the ship labors in heavy seas. To-day the nation gropes blindly, its purpose all right, but its intelligence at fault; and that honest nation needs the constant, incessant, discriminating criticism, which my friend Garrison thinks antislavery, but which I think necessary, indispensable criticism, the duty of the original anti-slavery host. This is not self-conceit, as has been intimated. What are we worth, if, after giving thirty years to the study of one question, we do not understand it better than men who were converted yesterday, and their vision distorted by prejudice till then? Certainly, it is not self-conceit to claim that we do in some degree understand this question. We have watched the problem through all its trials, in all ages and all climates, under every form of government and faith. We have traced the colored race in all its history; we have studied reform as our daily task; we have stood outside the political machine and watched it, reading the game better than the players. We are wise by thirty years of experience; our vision cleared by the isolation of our lives. Like Tocqueville, on the outside, we have been impartial observers how in America the game of politics was played; and now, at the acme of the question, in the very crisis and agony of the struggle, some are sitting down, folding their hands, and trusting everything to the newly converted intellect of the country. It is not necessary that I should arraign the conscience. I only refuse to trust the helm in this night of tempest to a fresh hand.

The Constitutional Amendment, grand and sublime as that National Act will be, will secure only two things. First,—that there never again shall be an *action-back* for men, under our flag. It abolishes chattelism. Secondly,—it gives the negro, what he never had, the liberty, if he is oppressed in Kentucky, of moving to Missouri; a substantial protection, unless the laws of the neighboring States forbid, as they now lawfully may, the full enjoyment of any right except technical freedom, within their territories. But beyond these two privileges lie a score of questions affecting the rights, manhood, civil status, career, education and national privileges of the negro. For the just settlement of these, we must rely on men who are more than Anti-Slavery, in a narrow and technical sense; on men who use the same ethics for all races. I do not deny that Mr. Lincoln means to be an anti-slavery man; but I maintain, as I have done since 1861,—and any one who will do me the honor to look over my speeches will see that war running through them ever since 1861,—that Mr. Lincoln, a Kentuckian, born in the Border States, is not capable of seeing a negro exactly as a white man. It is not in his nature. God will not hold him responsible for this constitutional and almost inevitable defect, or lack. He gives us the blessing of being born under the clear skies of Massachusetts, with no slave system to confuse our ethics. You perceive the difference in our public men. Compare Butler with Lincoln. Butler is a Democrat—bred in the very lowest tier and stratum of the worst New England Democracy; but he goes down to New Orleans; the soil is ripe, and the moment contact with slavery melts the prejudice against blacks, which is a monstrous growth under our New England sky—abnormal, alien to all the general laws and rules of thought and policy here—that moment the channel of his logic clears; relentless as Aristotle or Euclid, every fact and argument falls into place, and stern New England logic flows to the line on this, and other subjects, whatever were his life's fate. I know his early short-comings in the days when he "saw men as trees walking"; but every man admits that, after a very short while, he righted; and from that day to this, whatever faults any one may charge him with, no man will assert that Butler ever knew the difference between a black man and a white man. (Loud applause.) The good seed of this war's experience fell into Massachusetts soil, and the tree grew straight, shapely and well-proportioned. The same good seed fell into Kentucky soil, and the tree grew slowly, gnarled, crooked, awry, and cannot grow any better. No matter whether it is Mr. Lincoln's fault, or how much, if any. The only important question is, "What is our duty?" As for Abraham Lincoln, his future is in God's hands,—a more merciful judge than any one of us. We have not to settle his merit or demerit. But he stands either a helper or a hindrance to the great question of righting a race, and no man is entitled to call my criticism of him unjust, morbid, too severe, or ill-timed, while I have a right to claim that justice to the negro and the nation demands it. I am only "as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice." (Applause.) I have sought only that, from amid these turbid shoals and uncertain channels, the black man shall come out unharmed, with all his rights. I seek in reconstruction only this principle—such shape given to the new institutions that the head, black or white, which God made to rise, shall rise; and that the head, black or white, that God made to go down, shall go down. (Applause.) Justice, absolute equality before the law, was the high-water level of American politics reached by the theory of the Cleveland Convention; and if word or act of mine can make it real, it shall be real before the cannon are called home, and peace is made. (Applause.)

Nationality, to me, means the idea. It goes exactly as far as the idea goes, and not an inch further. You may send Grant's cannon down to the Gulf; you do not send the nation there, necessarily. The school-house, honor to labor, the ballot-box, naturally follow the cannon. If, when the cannon comes home and peace is sealed, the school-house, the ballot-box, and honor to labor stay, the nation stays, and if they come home, the nation comes home. We do not make Georgia a part of the nation by sending Sherman there, to walk across the State; it is only when Massachusetts ideas take possession of Georgia that we make her a part of the nation. (Applause.) And in order that Massachusetts ideas may take possession of Georgia, labor must be contented, treated justly, and furnished with the means of protecting itself.

I will not turn aside to say, as a citizen, no nation can be safe or at real peace till the laboring class is contented—it will never be so till it feels that it has all its just rights—education and the ballot among them. But I say such recognition is just; and for an Abolitionist, this is the end and sum of the matter. As Mr. Douglass said, it is right, and that is enough for an anti-slavery platform. But as a citizen, I should have another consideration to suggest. Reconstruct the South as you are reconstructing Louisiana, make labor dishonorable, make it discontented, cripple and confine it, and what will be the result? I know of a colored man in New Orleans, of French extraction, his father and grandfather free, who, before the rebellion broke out, was making a hundred dollars a month. Banks's Provost Marshal summoned him to his office. "Who is your employer?" "Haver's," he answered. "But the law supposes every negro laborer to have a master." "Can't help that; my father never had one, and I never have; I have always worked for myself, and so did my father before me." "We will settle that!"—and the black man was sent to a

plantation, twenty miles down the river, to work for eight dollars a month! Does that make a contented laboring class? When the war closes, the South is to be made like a garden; its fields replanted; its roads to be rebuilt; its cities to be re-established. Welcome labor there from the North, the East and the West, and you keep wages high throughout the country through the debt of war and full work, years throw our debt off like dew in the morning. Disgrace labor down there, make the negro, worth \$100 a month, worth \$8, and no white man will go there to compete with him. You dam up the labor of the North; you leave the South aristocratic, labor depressed and discredited, and an intricate class thrown upward into being above it aristocratically. The demand, tax prices, and industry motivated to pay the debt will write *Reputation* on its banner. Another thing. Bring back such men as Judge Field from the United States Congress, and you bring back the allies of the Democratic party; you bring back the allies of men to co-operate with the representatives of the Holding such allies in one hand and in the other that Bank despotism which our present monetary system gives the Government, the Democratic party will be omnipotent—a fearful trial for Republican Institutions. What will they do? They will say to the North (speaking the Anti-Slavery amendment north)—"Give us men, you have immediate emancipation—you want citizenship for the black. The Northern conscience wants unlimited, entire, unconditional, unalienable freedom—you shall have it. But we must still sell cheap. The Northern conscience wants emancipation—we will give it; only find our debt paid with your own." Leave the South one shred of caste, and she will go into Congress to trade with it, and the Northern conscience, anxious to get rid of it, will trade easy. The offer will be, "We will give you black citizenship in full immediately on the day of your four; but put our bottomless debt on your shoulders." Seal that bargain, and elevated labor writes *Reputation* on its banner.

No, citizens! This is a "big job." It holds political economy, national honor, justice to the negro, safety to the white man, all in its ample grasp. Full of the direct issues. They wait at the door, they crowd the ante-room, they hover in the office, they thunder at your gates, threatening the nation's life. God has given you one seal of Solomon to dispense them all like shadows. It is justice—absolute, immediate, unjustified to the negro. No other plea will control the demons that crowd around, to keep back and down the nation in her upward and onward flight. There is no other path but that one hair-line Justice. As an Abolitionist and a citizen, I owe the hours, the precious, golden, momentous hours of these six months to educate the nation, if possible, up to this conviction. I want every lip on this platform, on both sides, to fill the air with its protest, to wake the public to all us, and bring the nation to its feet in alert vigilance. That is our duty, peculiarly our duty as Abolitionists. The Past is gone with its errors and sins. The Future is in God's keeping. The Present he trusts to us to be well shaped and rightly used. Thirty years of earnest toil claim of us this crowning vigilance. The negro, the nation, the world, have the right to claim it of us.

LAUS DEO!

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.
On hearing the bells ring for the Constitutional Amendment abolishing Slavery in the United States.

It is done!
Clang of bell and roar of gun
Send the tidings up and down
How the bellows rock and reel,
How the great guns, peal on peal,
Fling the joy from town to town!

Ring, O bells!
Every stroke exulting bells
Of the jubilee hour of doom,
Loud and long that all may hear,
Ring for every listening ear,
Of Eternity and Time!

Let us kneel!
God's own voice is in that peal,
And this spot is holy ground,
Lord forgive us! What are we,
That our eyes this glory see,
That our ears have heard the sound!

For the Lord
On the whirlwind is abroad;
In the earthquake he has spoken:
He has smitten with his thunder
The iron walls of sin,
And the gates of brass are broken!

Loud and long
Lift the old exulting song;
Sing with Miriam by the sea:
He hath cast the mighty down:
Horns and rider sink and drown;
He hath triumphed gloriously!

Did we dare,
In our agony of prayer,
Ask for more than he has done?
When was ever his right hand
Over any time or land
Stretched as now beneath the sun?

How they pale,
Ancient myth, and song, and tale,
In this wonder of our days,
When the cruel red of war
Blooms white with righteous law,
And the wrath of man is praise!

Blinded out!
All within and all about
Shall a freer life begin;
Freer breathe the universe
As it rolls its heavy curve
On the dead and buried sin!

It is done!
In the circuit of the sun
Shall the sound thereof go forth.
It shall bid the dumb rejoice,
It shall give the deaf a voice,
It shall belt with joy the earth!

Ring and swing
Bells of joy! on morning's wing
Send the song of praise abroad;
With a sound of broken chains,
Tell the nations that He reigns
Who alone is Lord and God!

THE FRIEND OF PROGRESS is the title of a magazine, established by C. M. Plumb & Co., New York city, of which four numbers have thus far been issued. It is started as the organ of the "progressive" thinkers on religious and social topics, and has already enlisted a good deal of talent among its contributors. Rev. O. B. Frothingham furnishes the issue one of his remarkably brilliant, thoughtful and well-reasoned essays. Of the other more noticeable writers are T. W. Higginson, and Alice and Phoebe Cary. Mr. Edward C. Towner, and George T. Downing, have written a series of articles addressed to Henry Towne Beecher, on the subject of his theological views, which are pointed and searching. The subscription price is \$2 per annum.

DONATION. Rev. L. A. Grimes has received a communication from Mrs. F. W. Freeman, the lady who drew the cabinet organ placed at the feet of the recent fair at Mercantile Hall, enclosing \$50 for the benefit of the families of our colored soldiers. A very praiseworthy act.

I REPEAT THE DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, AS A WARNING TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, AND AS A TESTIMONY TO THE WORLD, THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ARE NOT WORTHY OF THE NAME OF CHRISTIANS, UNTIL THEY HAVE ABOLISHED SLAVERY IN THEIR COUNTRY.

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, ORGANIZED IN 1833, HAS THE HONOR TO ANNOUNCE THAT IT HAS RECEIVED A SUBSCRIPTION OF \$500,000, FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE FAMILIES OF OUR COLORED SOLDIERS.

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